THE PORTUGUESE CANADIAN HISTORY PROJECT | PROJETO DE HISTÓRIA LUSO CANADIANA

The Portuguese Canadian History Project (PCHP) is a non-profit community outreach organization founded in 2008, whose overall objectives are to:

- 1. Preserve the collective memory of Portuguese immigrants and their descendants in Canada.
- 2. Democratize access to the consumption and production of historical knowledge.

As graduate students researching the history of the Portuguese in Canada, we encountered a scarcity of records pertaining to this immigrant group in the public archives. We also discovered that many Portuguese Canadian individuals and organizations had privately amassed a trove of archival records reflecting the history of their community. However, despite their best efforts, these collections were not maintained in optimal preservation conditions and in some cases had been partially destroyed. The PCHP emerged in response to this reality and it has been working to bridge what we perceive is a gap between archives, academics, and their local communities. Since 2009, when we began our partnership with the Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, York University Libraries (CTASC), we have been able to locate and facilitate the donation of archival records of great historical value from such individuals and organizations as Domingos Marques, Ilda Januário, David Higgs, Felipe Gomes, Portuguese Canadian Democratic Association, Portuguese Interagency Network, Canadian Auto Workers Local 40, among others, which will be available in the public archives for generations to come. We believe that historiography, even that which is produced "from below", remains inaccessible to those "ordinary" men and women whom it hopes to include. With the CTASC's technical support, we have been able to develop a number of public history initiatives and digital humanities providing educational and research tools for the general public, educators, and scholars, who can use them to learn or teach about immigration and ethnicity, labour, gender, politics, media, social work, and other issues pertaining to the histories of Portuguese Canadian communities, Toronto, and Canada. One such initiative is our website where we host online exhibits, showcasing a sample of the records we have collected and digitized, along with recorded interviews with donors and community members, and textual content to which we bring our knowledge as historians and social scientists working on Portuguese and Canadian topics.

For more information, visit the PCHP blog: http://archives.library.yorku.ca/pchp/
Online exhibits: http://archives.library.yorku.ca/exhibits/show/pchp
York University digital repository (YorkSpace): http://yorkspace.library.yorku.ca/xmlui/discover
Or follow us on Twitter (@PCHP_PHLC) and Facebook (Portuguese Canadian History Project)

THE PORTUGUESE IN TORONTO, 1953-2013:

Contrary to popular belief, history is not a series of facts and dates following one another in a linear sequence, nor is the past a finite dimension capable of being understood in its entirety. There are, without a doubt, definitive historical facts and dates, but the "truths" they represent vary according to the questions we ask of them and the narratives we want them to weave. All historical dates are, to a certain degree, arbitrary; especially those that are officially commemorated. Why do we commemorate the sixty years of Portuguese immigration to Canada on May 13, 2013? There were hundreds of Portuguese in the country before the first batch of "bulk order" immigrants arrived in Halifax aboard the *Saturnia* in 1953. In fact, the '53 cohort was largely made possible due to the positive experiences of a pilot group of a few dozen immigrants who landed in Canada the previous year, and served as an example of what could be expected of Portuguese workers. Other narratives go further back in time and symbolically link the modern Portuguese-Canadian communities with the few Portuguese migrants living in New France and British North America in the seventeenth century (like the famous Pedro da Silva), and who served as auxiliaries to Canada's European colonizing nations. Others establish a spiritual genealogy between postwar Portuguese immigrants and the sixteenth century navigators Gaspar and Miguel Corte-Real, who may have been among the first Europeans to set foot in Newfoundland and Labrador. The last two have asserted a Portuguese founding mythology within Canada's Eurocentric national memory that seeks to rid this ethnic group of the stigma of "foreignness" attached to immigrants in Canada. By default, they also end up strengthening the imperialist narratives of the European "founding nations," which further marginalize the indigenous peoples of Canada.

There are good reasons to commemorate 1953 as the year when Portuguese mass migration to Canada began. It was that year that the first 180 workers from the Azores, Madeira, and mainland Portugal arrived in country, under the "bulk order" migration agreement signed between Ottawa and Lisbon. Until 1961, Portuguese labourers were sent to work on farms, railway construction, mining, logging, and other low-skilled jobs in the Canadian hinterland. The thousands of Portuguese sojourners-turned-immigrants who settled in Canada through this movement and later called for their families to join them, formed a critical mass capable of generating their own autonomous migration networks, which sustained themselves through family sponsorship and clandestine migration until the mid-1970s, despite Ottawa's efforts to curtail the immigration of unskilled Southern European labourers and their families.

Other parallel movements were instrumental in expanding Portuguese immigration to Canada. Various Portuguese (re)migrants and descendants moved to Canada from the United States - like Manuel Cabral in Galt, Ontario - Venezuela, and other South American countries in the 1950s; many of whom would assist their countrymen arrived after 1953. In 1959-60, over 150 Azorean families arrived in Canada under humanitarian provisions, following the devastation caused by the Capelinhos volcano in the island of Faial. An unknown, yet by all accounts large number of "White Fleet" cod fishermen jumped ship once they arrived in St. John's, Newfoundland, or Sydney, Nova Scotia, and settled various parts of the country after the end of the Second World War, and especially after the outbreak of the Colonial Wars in Africa, in 1961. The war conscription also prompted a massive exodus of military-aged men from Portugal in the 1960s, many of whom landed in Canada clandestinely. After the fall of the Portuguese empire in 1975, thousands of Portuguese retornados (former colonial settlers in Africa) chose to settle in Canada, motivated by their family members living in the country. All these movements contributed to create or replenish Portuguese Canadian neighbourhoods and communities, and are deserving of our attention, as we commemorate this official date.

Over the years, the commemorations of Portuguese mass migration to Canada have largely focused on the sacrifices and successes of the 1950s' "pioneers", and have advanced a narrative that is excessively masculine, given the fact that the majority of "pioneers" were men. The Portuguese communities of Canada count six decades of history, spanning three generations of Canadians. Regardless of whatever affinity Canadians of Portuguese descent may have for the culture of their ancestors, their immigrant past largely determined, and will certainly continue to influence, their individual and collective experiences. This official date belongs to them as well. The experiences and identities of Portuguese Canadians are widely complex, which is rarely reflected in the traditional Portuguese immigration commemorations, still too focused on the departure; the first impressions; and the trials of the "pioneers". Indeed, any history of Portuguese immigration to Canada is incomplete without a reference to its origins. However, there is much more to be told, with equally decisive characters, events, and movements.

In 2013, the Portuguese Canadian History Project (PCHP) was invited by the Consul General of Portugal in Toronto, Mr. Júlio Vilela, to curate an exhibition of twenty historical photographs on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of Portuguese mass migration to Canada, integrated in that year's Scotiabank CONTACT Photography Festival, and originally showcased at Toronto's City Hall, on May 13-19. Most of the photos used in this exhibit came from the Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections' collections that the PCHP helped transfer to its care. Other photos were selected from the Multicultural History Society of Ontario collection at the Archives of Ontario, and the private collections of Casa dos Açores, Casa do Alentejo, Festival Português TVI CIRV Radio fm 88.9, Gilberto Prioste, Sérgio Garcia and St. Christopher House, who have accepted our invitation to participate in the organization of this exhibit. Besides the Consul-General of Toronto and York University, this exhibit benefitted from the institutional support of the State Secretary of Portuguese Communities, Instituto Camões, Festival Português TVICIRV Radio, and CHIN Radio. Designed to be a travelling exhibit, it has since been shown in a popular street festival, a school, universities, community clubs, library branch, businesses, and other venues in Toronto. In this free exhibit catalogue we provide extensive captions for the photos in The Portuguese in Toronto, 1953-2013, focusing on the social history of Toronto's Portuguese community, with its diversity, flexible boundaries, multiple solidarities, and sometimes tense relationships. We hope you enjoy it.

The curators, Gilberto Fernandes, Susana Miranda, Raphael Costa, and Emanuel da Silva.

1. SISTERS PEREIRA IN FRONT OF THEIR FAMILY'S NEW HOUSE. PHOTO BY CARLOS PEREIRA, 1957.



Maria Teresa and Maria Leonor Pereira (pictured above) arrived in Canada in 1956 with their mother Odilia Pereira and two younger sisters. They joined their father Carlos Pereira who was one of the immigrants aboard the Saturnia, which arrived in Halifax on May 13, 1953. After working in a farm near Ottawa, Ontario; laying railway tracks in Sept-Îsles, Quebec; painting airplane hangars in Goose Bay, Newfoundland; Carlos finally moved to Toronto in April of 1955 where he found a job in a bed-making factory. In December of that year he bought his first house at 110 Lisgar St. and called for his family in Portugal. Odilia found a job at a local textile factory, while Teresa and Leonor started working in a bank shortly after arriving. Their house became a point of reference for many newcomers from Portugal who were given the Pereiras' address as the official immigration destination from an agent in Lisbon without the family's knowledge or consent. Still, the Pereiras' helped the newcomers find work and welcomed them in what became one of the first Portuguese boarding houses in Toronto.

In 1958 the Pereiras' bought a farm near Orangeville and maintained two residences; Odilia and her two youngest daughters worked on the farm all week while Carlos and their two oldest daughters visited from Toronto on the weekends. The beans the Pereiras' grew on the farm, along with the sausages and the bread they made, were sold out of Carlos' station wagon on the streets of Toronto. This earned him the nickname "the King of Beans". In 1963 the family sold the farm and opened a grocery store on Augusta Ave. in Kensington Market called the Pereira Supermarket.

In an interview with Domingos Marques for the book *Portuguese Immigrants: 25 Years in Canada* (1978), Carlos Pereira recalled: "When my family arrived there were no girls here. So when there were parties, their success depended on whether or not we would come... It would be me and my four daughters, and sometimes I would bring one or two girls from my neighbourhood. I must be one of the most popular guys in the community."

York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Domingos Marques fonds, F0573.

2. "THE PORTUGUESE MOSQUITOES" AT THE FIRST PORTUGUESE CANADIAN CLUB. PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN, 1950s.

The first community association in Toronto was the appropriately named First Portuguese Canadian Club (FPCC), founded on September 23, 1956 by a group of immigrants from mainland Portugal. Originally located at Nassau St., in the Kensington Market area, the FPCC moved to various locations throughout its history. From 1973 to 2007, its building at 722 College St. (where the Mod Club is now located) was one of the largest and most active halls in the Portuguese community, used by different associations to host their own events. Unlike most other community associations, the FPCC resisted political and other factional schisms and was frequented by various segments of the community. Perhaps this was because sports comprised a principal activity of the club. The FPCC's teams had considerable success in sports such as men's and women's soccer, cycling, basketball and ice hockey (the latter represented Canada in a tournament held in Portugal in 2000). The FPCC ran many other recreation, education and information programs that catered to different segments of the Portuguese community. On May 14, 1966, it even created a credit union to serve Portuguese immigrants.



Children and youth also benefitted from the FPCC's programming. Arguably the most successful of its programs was the FPCC's Portuguese language school, introduced in 1964, where young Portuguese-Canadians learned their parents' language and Portugal's history. The school, which operated on Saturday mornings, met a significant demand among immigrant parents, many of whom hoped to return to Portugal one day and wanted to make sure their children were prepared for it. Assisted by the government of Portugal, which officially recognized it in 1968, the school grew quickly. Between 1972 and '78 it offered classes covering the entire elementary school curriculum. At its height in 1974, the First's Portuguese school had 762 students. In 1981 it expanded by opening two branches in Scarborough where many Portuguese were beginning to move. Music instruction was another popular activity offered to children and youth at the FPCC. In this early photo, a group of young Portuguese-Canadians pose with their instruments in what may have been one of the first music bands in the community.

In 2013, the First Portuguese Canadian Club continues to operate at 60 Caledonia Road.

York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Domingos Marques fonds, F0573.

3. WOMAN AND CHILD IN KENSINGTON MARKET. PHOTO BY PETER WARD, OCTOBER 16, 1965.



Immigration often improved the position of Portuguese women within them families and was a step towards their individual emancipation. In part, this began the moment husbands left their wives and children in Portugal, sometimes spending many years before reuniting with them in Canada. But it was only when the women joined their husbands in the new country that the new gender dynamics began to emerge. Most immigrants' economic strategy was to accumulate savings as quickly as possible by taking advantage of the labour of every able-bodied member in the nuclear family, including women and children, who contributed their wages towards buying a house, a car, and other amenities of Canadian life. The employment conditions encountered by Portuguese men in Canada, most of whom worked in outdoors seasonal jobs and in industries with high rates of work related injuries and fatalities, like construction, demanded that women take on more steady waged work outside of the house, usually in textile factories and in cleaning services in private homes and office buildings. In many cases, women became the breadwinners and men, either due to unemployment or disability, had to take on the domestic and parental responsibilities typically ascribed to women. While not entirely novel to Portuguese women, who were sometimes employed in small manufacturing jobs in Portugal's countryside, this reconfiguration of the household economy was a departure from the patriarchal norm. Some men felt this to be a serious threat to their masculinity and dominant position within the household and lashed at their wives, leading to a number of cases of domestic violence (a reality that is unfortunately still too common in Canada across class and ethnic lines). That being said, domestic work and parenting duties largely continued to be considered female responsibilities. When men found better-paid and steadier jobs, some of the women stopped working outside the house; others continued to work for wages but were still responsible for housekeeping, with little help from their husbands or sons.

Women played other important roles during the settlement years, particularly as information brokers exchanging news about available jobs, the best places to shop, community gossip, as well as navigating Canadian bureaucracy. Over the years, more Portuguese women, especially of the second-generation, became employed in clerical work and assumed important roles in the community as social workers, interpreters, and health care workers. Women also enriched community life by organizing social events geared towards families or by preparing food for the activities of ethnic associations. In recent decades, more Portuguese women have stepped out of the community kitchens and into administrative offices, assuming positions of leadership in various social, cultural, and business organizations. Also worthy of note is the fact that Portuguese-Canadian girls have consistently done better in school than boys, which points to greater occupational diversity and likely higher income levels among Portuguese-Canadian women in the future.

York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Toronto Telegram fonds, F0433, ASC12871

4. ANTI-SALAZAR PROTESTERS IN FRONT OF THE PORTUGUESE

The sidewalk in front of the Portuguese Consulate, in the Commerce & Transportation Building (demolished in 1986) on Bay St. at Front St. West, was the stage for many demonstrations held by opponents of the António Salazar's and Marcello Caetano's dictatorial Estado Novo (1928-1974) and Portugal's colonial empire. The most dramatic of these demonstrations occurred on January 29, 1961, at the height of the hijacking of the cruise ship Santa Maria by Portuguese rebels. The "freedom fighting pirates" attracted a great deal of attention from Canadian and international media, and shed light on Portugal's political situation. On this winter day, hundreds of Portuguese immigrants on opposite sides of the issue clashed in front of the Consulate leading to a few scuffles and one car being overturned. This would be the most dramatic of many more confrontations between pro- and anti-Estado Novo factions throughout the history of the community, and the first time that most Torontonians learned of the presence of Portuguese immigrants in the city.

Behind this and other "anti-fascist" and anti-colonialist initiatives undertaken in the community was the Portuguese Canadian Democratic Association (PCDA), founded in 1959 by a group of political exiles and other pro-democratic immigrants. One of the PCDA's most significant actions was the organization of the Canadian Conference for Amnesty in Portugal. on October 28-30, 1966, which involved high-profile politicians, intellectuals and other personalities of Canadian public life, including Pierre Berton, Tommy Douglas, Northrop Frye, and many others. The conference drew attention to the unlawful imprisonment and torture of political dissidents in Portugal, many of whom were sent to the Tarrafal prison camp in Cape Verde. The Canadian Committee for Amnesty in Portugal was created at this conference; some of its members are pictured here.



The PCDA was the most politically active organization in Toronto's Portuguese community until the Revolution of the Carnations of April 25, 1974, which toppled the dictatorship and put an end to Portugal's centuries-old empire. Afterwards, the PCDA changed its focus to educational and cultural activities, inviting various artists and intellectuals from Portugal, while keeping with its Marxist orientation. The PCDA closed its doors in 2007.

York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Toronto Telegram fonds, F0433, ASC08256.

5. PROTESTING VIOLENCE AGAINST IMMIGRANTS AT NATHAN PHILLIPS SQUARE. PHOTO BY JIM KENNEDY, MAY 17, 1969.

On the morning of May 5, 1969, a Toronto police detective shot and killed the young Portuguese immigrant Ângelo Nóbrega during a traffic stop on Yonge St. and Albertus Ave., while investigating a break-in at a nearby theatre. The detective's convoluted account of the incident conflicted with the statements of the two surviving Nóbrega brothers who witnessed it. This event upset the Portuguese in Toronto who mobilized in support of Ângelo's parents; close to 300 attended the funeral. A number of community leaders met at the Mount Carmel Catholic Church to organize a community response to what they saw as a larger problem of police discrimination against Toronto's immigrants. They organized a silent march from Queen's Park to City Hall on May 17, and encouraged the participation of all Torontonians, including representatives from various immigrant communities. About 500 people participated in the protest march. Leading the group were 15 children holding a black banner that read: "Justice Ignored! Protesting Violence". The most conservative leaders in the community disapproved of the march, particularly those associated with the influential priest of St. Mary's Catholic Church. Conservatives also hesitated to participate given the fact that some of its organizers belonged to the "anti-fascist" Portuguese Canadian Democratic Association, which included a few well-known communists.



The controversial inquiry on Ângelo's death, which ended in June, 1969, absolved the detective of any wrongdoing. However, the Coroner who worked on the case was suspended and put under investigation for potential irregularities. The final decision came as a great disappointment to the community, which motivated some of its leaders to found the Portuguese Canadian Congress, the first umbrella organization created to represent the Portuguese in Ontario on political matters.

The community's response to the death of Ângelo Nóbrega set a precedent for the larger funeral and demonstration that followed the rape and murder of 12 year-old Azorean shoeshine boy Emanuel Jacques in 1977. In August of that year, close to 15,000 Torontonians rallied at Nathan Phillips' Square and demanded that the city "clean" the seedy downtown strip of Yonge St., at the time a hub for the sex-industry.

Ângelo Nóbrega migrated from Madeira in 1959 to join his father who had moved to Canada five years earlier. Ângelo and his twin brother, José Nóbrega, worked as shippers in a lingerie factory in Toronto.

York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Toronto Telegram fonds, F0433, ASC08235.

6. FEAST OF *SENHOR SANTO CRISTO* PROCESSION. PHOTO BY DAVE COOPER, MAY 1970.

The procession of *Senhor Santo Cristo dos Milagres*, or Christ of the Miracles, organized by St. Mary's Church in Toronto is among the largest Azorean Portuguese Catholic religious ceremonies in North America. The tradition dates back to the late 17th century when an ornate wooden statue of *Ecce Homo*, Christ's tortured torso, crowned with thorns and covered in a crimson robe, was paraded through the decorated streets of Ponta Delgada, São Miguel five weeks after Easter. In the early 18th century, as the island was rocked by earthquakes, the statue fell during one of its annual processions, and at once it was believed that the earthquakes stopped without the statue being damaged. Following this and other reported "miracles", the statue became known as *Senhor Santo Cristo dos Milagres* and devotion for it grew.



Centuries later, the same devotion and procession exist in Toronto thanks largely to the work of Mariano Rego who acquired a copy of the statue in 1966 for St. Mary's Church.

The third oldest church in the city, dating back to 1852, St. Mary's is located at 130 Bathurst Street, on what is now called Portugal Square. In 1958, it became the first Portuguese national parish in Toronto, and has since been an important hub for the community beyond its spiritual practices. There the statue of *Senhor Santo Cristo dos Milagres* has a dedicated chapel and five weeks after Easter it is still carried through the streets surrounding the church, even if today the demographics of the area are considerably less Portuguese. In addition to the statue, the procession includes men wearing red capes, children in gowns adorned with angels' wings or religious uniforms, marching bands and representatives from different community organizations with thousands of onlookers lining the streets.

The feast of *Senhor Santo Cristo* is a fundamental part of Azorean culture and one of the most visible manifestations of Portuguese life in Canada. In 1974, for instance, around 90,000 people attended the procession and subsequent celebrations, coming from various parts of the Azorean diaspora, including Bermuda and New England. Although the crowds may not be as large today, the devotion to *Senhor Santo Cristo* remains strong as is evidenced by the same image emblazed on ceramic tiles beside thousands of front doors of houses that are easily identifiable as Azorean and Portuguese.

York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Toronto Telegram fonds, F0433, ASC08248

7. ST. CHRISTOPHER HOUSE'S KEEP FIT CLASS AT THE OLDER ADULTS CENTRE PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN, 1975.

St. Christopher House (or "St. Chris") was one of the first settlement houses in Canada and is currently one of the longest running community centres and social service agencies in west downtown Toronto. Founded in 1912 at 67 Bellevue Place (later Wales Ave.), in the Kensington Market area, St. Chris has provided services to newcomers to Canada since its inception. Since the mid-1950s, St. Chris has developed programs tailored to the Portuguese residing in its catchment area. Over the years a substantial portion of its clients, volunteers, and staff have been Portuguese speakers. St. Chris' connection with the Portuguese community was also reflected in the organization's decision to relocate to the area west of Bathurst St. in 1989, where the Portuguese had gradually moved to and where few services existed.

In its 100 year history, St. Christopher House has had multiple sites, including the Older Adult Centre on 761 Queen St. West, located in the former Queen Street United Church - home to a small Portuguese Protestant congregation in the 1960s, directed by the missionary Rev. George Vernon Kimball. Known in the community as the *Centro de Pessoas Idosas*, the centre catered primarily to Portuguese seniors. Besides providing important services like interpreting, counseling, referral, shopping, and income tax preparation, among others, the centre also offered English, citizenship, and orientation classes to help older Portuguese immigrants adjust to life in Canada's largest city. St. Chris also emphasized the importance of individual and collective empowerment and handed part of its executive responsibilities for the seniors' program to the participants themselves, who met every month to manage the Centre's activities.



In this photo, Ms. Olivia rises from among the participants of St. Chris' "Keep Fit Class" during a demonstration for the Mayor of Toronto, John Sewell, and other dignitaries during the Centre's inaugural event in 1975.

Courtesy of St. Christopher House ©

8. PORTUGUESE-CANADIAN STUDENTS AT ST. VERONICA CATHOLIC SCHOOL. PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN, MAY 1975.

In Toronto, as in other major Canadian cities, youth of Portuguese descent have consistently demonstrated lower than average rates of academic achievement since the 1950s. In 2011, reports by the Toronto District School Board suggested that Portuguese-speaking students exhibit a 34% drop-out or "push-out" rate, which placed them among the groups with the lowest rates of academic completion in secondary and post-secondary education. More than just a Portuguese linguistic or cultural barrier, the academic underachievement of Portuguese-Canadian youth results from a complicated mix of historic socioeconomic marginalization on both sides of the Atlantic. In Portugal, people suffered under an oppressive regime that limited access to education and social mobility. In Canada, Portuguese immigrants faced negative stereotypes and discrimination; an over-representation in manual labour jobs; the immediate pressures of ensuring financial security; school streaming away from advanced or academic programs leading to college/university; the erroneous labeling of many students as Learning Disabled in need of Special Education (due, in part, to their Portuguese-English bilingualism); and under-funded inner-city schools with an inadequate engagement with parents and support for students. While these problems affect Canadian society as a whole, the Portuguese community has made significant efforts to address them. These include the organization of Portuguese parents associations in schools; the creation of the now defunct Portuguese-Canadian Coalition for Better Education; community mentoring and tutoring programs such as "On Your Mark", run by the Working Women Community Centre; and scholarship programs offered by the Federation of Portuguese Canadian Business and Professionals, Portuguese university student associations, trade unions and community clubs.



This photo was taken by a St. Christopher House photographer during a visit to St. Veronica's Elementary Catholic School, located on Banks St., near Dufferin St. and Dundas St. W., whose student population was 90% Portuguese. The lack of communication and mutual understanding between Portuguese immigrant parents and Toronto's school systems was one of the first issues tackled by St. Chris' Portuguese West of Bathurst Project, created in 1974. Community development workers Isabel de Almeida and Sidney Pratt met with the school's administrators, visited hundreds of Portuguese families in the neighbourhood, and met with teachers to discuss the parents' concerns. The photos and videos taken of the children at work and at play were shown to the parents to inform them about what a day in a Canadian school was like. For instance, upon watching these videos, parents saw their children slipping on gym floors and were encouraged to buy adequate athletic shoes.

Courtesy of St. Christopher House ©

9. FERMA S.C. SOCCER MATCH IN TORONTO. PHOTO BY SÉRGIO GARCIA, APRIL 1977.

Soccer has always been a popular pastime and an important site of community organization for Portuguese-Canadians. Residents of Kensington Market remember the crowds of Portuguese immigrants hanging around on the sidewalk in front of the Portuguese Book Store on the corner of Nassau St. and Bellevue Ave., listening to the weekend broadcast of Portuguese soccer matches, blasting from the store's speakers. The proliferation of soccer teams in Toronto began when Portuguese immigrants founded their regional clubs and associations. The most popular and successful of these was the First Portuguese Canadian Club's soccer team, which won the Canadian National Soccer League in 1969, the year it joined. They repeated that feat in 1979 and 1990 (in 1991 the team was dismantled for lack of funding). Some clubs operated as "satellite" teams to the bigger soccer clubs in Portugal and were run by local fans from the Toronto branches of clubs like S. L. Benfica House (branch founded in 1969) and the Vitória de Setúbal Club of Toronto (founded in 1973), to name just two of the oldest.



Some of the local teams were run by local Portuguese businesses, as was the case with Ferma Soccer Club. Ferma Food Products has imported goods from Portugal since 1961. Started in Montreal, the company quickly expanded and opened an office in Toronto in the 1970s. Its original owner, José Rocha, sponsored this team of Portuguese, Mozambican and Brazilian immigrants. Besides providing team's uniforms and equipment, Rocha hosted dinners and dances for the players and their families along with paying for transportation to games across Ontario. Competing in Toronto and Ontario-wide leagues, Ferma SC and its fans - primarily the families of the players and the company workers - not only socialized around the team, but also with other ethnic communities across the province. The team disbanded in 1989 when a new administration bought the company. Ferma SC was a good example of how businesses could sometimes work as community associations, and blur the distinction between for- and non-profit, as Rocha spent considerable amounts of money on the team.

To the delight of soccer fans in Toronto, some of Portugal's international soccer stars played in the city before retiring, including Matateu with the First (1970) and Eusébio with the Toronto Metros-Croatia (1976). A few Torontonians of Portuguese descent, like Steven Vitória and Fernando Aguiar, have had relatively successful professional soccer careers in Portugal. Aguiar initially played for the Toronto Blizzards before the Canadian Soccer League was disbanded in 1992. Afterwards, he played for a number of top-tier Portuguese teams. While born in Portugal, Aguiar was selected to the Canadian's national soccer team in 1995, for a match against his country of birth. On the other hand, Canadian-born Steven Vitória was selected to represent Portugal in the 2006 European Under-19 football championship.

10. *RANCHO DA NAZARÉ* PERFORMING AT A COMMUNITY EVENT. PHOTO BY DOMINGOS MARQUES (?), APRIL 1979

Ranchos folclóricos (folk dance troupes) were one of the most popular forms of cultural expression among Portuguese immigrants and remain a default expression of Portuguese ethnic identity in multicultural Canada. It was common for immigrant parents to enroll their children in the rancho of their favourite association to instill in them a sense of pride in their Portuguese heritage. For parents seeking to ward off the assimilationist pressures of Canadian society, ranchos were seen as appropriate venues for social interaction and dating. Despite being often linked to community clubs, ranchos are associations in and of themselves that involve regular meetings, fundraisers, social outings, and various civic activities.



Founded in 1958, the *Rancho da Nazaré* was one of the first organizations created by Portuguese immigrants in Toronto (and Canada). The troupe was created by a group of recent immigrants, most of whom natives of the fishing town of Nazaré in mainland Portugal. Over the years the troupe has operated under the roof of various organizations, including the First Portuguese Canadian Club, St. Christopher House, the Nazaré Club, and most recently the Portuguese Club of Mississauga. Some of the highlights in its long history include winning the first prize in a folk festival at the O'Keefe Centre in 1964, where they received an award from Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson; and performing at the unveiling of the statue of the 16th-century Portuguese navigator Gaspar Corte-Real, in St. John's, Newfoundland, in 1965.

York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Domingos Marques fonds, F0573, ASC06677

II. STARING AT "THE PIT". PORTUGAL DAY CELEBRATIONS AT TRINITY-BELLWOODS PARK. PHOTO BY DOMINGOS MARQUES, JUNE 1977.

The Portugal Day national holiday has been celebrated every year on June 10 since 1910 to mark the death of the 16th century epic poet Luis Vaz de Camões. In the 1960s the dictatorial *Estado Novo* turned the holiday into a propaganda and militaristic celebration called "Day of Camões, Portugal and the Portuguese Race". It was then that the commemorations were first introduced in Portuguese emigrant communities around the world.

The first Portugal Day commemorations in Toronto were organized in 1966 by Father Alberto Cunha, then the head of the Portuguese parish at St. Mary's Catholic Church, gathering several thousand people in the Canadian National Exhibition Coliseum (currently the Ricoh Coliseum). After that, the June 10 celebrations were organized by a handful of community elites in close association with the Consul-General of Portugal. The annual event usually consisted of an official proclamation by Toronto's Mayor; a raising of the Portuguese flag at City Hall; speeches by Portuguese and Canadian dignitaries; a Catholic service; a soccer tournament; and a street parade showcasing various community associations. As the event became more popular in the 1970s, various associations demanded to be included in planning the commemorations and sought to make planning a more "bottom-up" up process, to which the traditional elitist committee was originally opposed.

After the Carnation Revolution of 1974 there was a profound shift in Portugal's emigration policies, encouraging greater inclusion of the diaspora in the nation's affairs. In 1977, the title of the national holiday changed to "Day of Portugal, Camões and the Portuguese Communities," reflecting the post-imperial government's commitment to reach out to its diaspora.



Since 1986, the Alliance of Portuguese Clubs and Associations of Ontario (ACAPO) has assumed the responsibility for organizing this event in Toronto. ACAPO was created after various community associations came together to commemorate the first anniversary of the Portugal Village Business Improvement Area (Trinity-Bellwoods area) in response to their growing need to pool financial resources. 1986 also saw the official proclamation of June 10 as Portugal Day by Ontario's government; in 2001, Carl DeFaria, the Member of Provincial Parliament for Mississauga-East, succeeded in officially recognizing June as Portuguese History and Heritage Month.

The commemorations of Portugal Day have grown over the years to become the largest public gatherings of Portuguese immigrants and their descendants in Canada. In Toronto they now include a large program of activities that span the month of June, and are highlighted by a parade of community associations and businesses along Dundas St. West and into Trinity-Bellwoods Park.

There, the party continues for a few days in the "pit" (pictured here), with folk dance performances and live musical acts from Canada and Portugal. In 2013, the activities normally held at Trinity-Bellwoods Park moved to Downsview Park.

York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Domingos Marques fonds, F0573, ASC06674.

12. COURTING THE PORTUGUESE VOTE ON TORONTO'S STREETS, PHOTO BY GILBERTO PRIOSTE (?), SEPTEMBER 1978.

Contrary to popular perceptions of Portuguese immigrants as politically apathetic or even docile, politics have played an important role in developing their communities in Canada. During the formative years of the Toronto community, and until the end of the revolutionary period that followed the end of the Estado Novo in Portugal in 1974, homeland politics occupied most of the emigrants' attention and led to intense disputes between community organizers and the associations they represented. The Portuguese



have also mobilized in large numbers at various occasions to organize fundraising campaigns in support of public works projects and humanitarian causes linked to hometowns in Portugal. Most of this political activity, however, has centered on temporary causes, and politicians from inside and outside the community have found it difficult to mobilize Portuguese support as a cohesive and sustained constituency through the formal electoral process. Electoral participation was low among the immigrant generation, who was raised under a dictatorship, had little formal education, and limited language skills. This began to change in the 1970s as a new generation of Portuguese-Canadians, born or raised in Canada, entered the political sphere. A number of young social workers, journalists, teachers and other professionals of Portuguese descent developed a political consciousness by observing the harsh living conditions of their working class families and fellow immigrants. This generation was educated in Canadian schools and had a better understanding of its society. They began taking positions of leadership in the community, as grassroots activists, labour organizers and politicians. Unlike their predecessors, who fought primarily over homeland politics, these Portuguese-Canadians were preoccupied with the Canadian realities facing their community. Nonetheless, these young activists maintained strong ties with Portugal and followed its politics closely; many took inspiration from the political fervour and ideals of revolutionary Portugal.

The 1978 Toronto municipal election was a landmark for the Portuguese community of Toronto since it was the first time that a group of their own ran for political office. Bill Moniz, seen in this photo campaigning on College St., was one of the five Portuguese-Canadians who ran for city alderman (councilor) in Ward 4 (Trinity-Bellwoods and Little Italy). The sudden rise in candidates in 1978 may have had something to do with the outrage and large demonstration carried by the Portuguese community following the murder of Emanuel Jaques in 1977. However, that momentum did not carry over to the ballot box, as none of the Portuguese-Canadians candidates challenged the incumbents. After that, the number of candidates from the community dropped to one or two per every election. Only in 1988, with Martin

Silva's victory in Ward 4 in Toronto's municipal elections, did a Portuguese-Canadian manage to secure political office for the first time. Since Martin Silva, two other Portuguese-Canadians have been elected to Toronto's city council: Mário Silva was first elected in 1994 (in 2004 he became the first Portuguese-Canadian to be elected as Member of Parliament in Canada's House of Commons); and Ana Bailão, who, in 2010, won her seat in city council representing Ward 18.

As the Portuguese moved in greater numbers to the suburbs of Toronto in the 1980s, a number of Portuguese-Canadian political candidates have emerged in these areas, some of whom have had electoral success. Three of the four Members of Provincial Parliament of Portuguese descent thus far have been elected in Mississauga: Carl DeFaria elected for the first time in 1995, Peter Fonseca in 2003, and Charles Sousa in 2007. All of them held ministerial posts in the Ontario government. Besides reflecting the growing geographic reach of Portuguese-Canadians, the electoral successes of theses candidates also suggest a decreasing reliance on the ethnic vote, since the Portuguese are a minority in these ridings.

York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Domingos Marques fonds, F0573, ASC06678.

13. MAKING WINE IN THE BASEMENT. PHOTO BY GILBERTO PRIOSTE, OCTOBER 1978.



Most Portuguese immigrants came from rural areas in Portugal and were accustomed to growing and preparing their own food. Despite low wages and the many financial hardships associated with starting a new life in Canada, their ingenuity, resourcefulness, and willingness to help one another, gave Portuguese families a degree of selfsufficiency that reduced their vulnerability to market fluctuations. Like other southern European immigrants in Toronto, many Portuguese grew their own vegetables, preserved their own food, butchered their own meat, and made their own wine.

In this photo, Mr. Joáo Tavares Padeiro samples some grape juice from his wine press in the basement of his house on Strachan Ave. while the next generations of Portuguese-Canadians helps him. The photo was published in *Comunidade*, a Toronto Portuguese-language newspaper, in a story on wine-making among the Portuguese.

York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Domingos Marques fonds, F0573, ASC06676.

14. ACTORS PERFORMING ON STAGE DURING A COMMUNITY PLAY. PHOTO BY GILBERTO PRIOSTE, APRIL 1979.

Starting in the 1960s, Canadian and Portuguese airlines, like Canadian Pacific Air and *Transportes Aéreos Portugueses* (TAP), invited popular Portuguese musicians, actors, and radio and television personalities to tour Canada as part of their marketing strategy for their flights to Portugal. The representatives of TAP in Canada were involved in the community and became *de facto* impresarios of the Portuguese performing arts in North

America. After Portugal's Carnation Revolution of 1974, a greater number of artists began visiting Toronto and performing for the immigrant community, including many of the poets, novelists, and songwriters that played an important role in the clandestine political opposition to the dictatorship, including Ary dos Santos, Urbano Tavares Rodrigues, José Mário Branco. These visits were usually organized and financed by community clubs. Since the 1980s, Portugal's most famous musicians have visited Toronto with some regularity, including international *fado* stars Amália Rodrigues, Dulce Pontes, and most recently Mariza.



Amateur performers have also contributed to a continuous cultural relationship with Portugal. In this photo, a group of actors from a volunteer firefighter company from Cascais, Portugal, perform a scene from the play "Senhora dos Navegantes" (Our Lady of the Sailors) in a community stage, about the lives of people in a Portuguese fishing village.

York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, Domingos Marques fonds, F0573, ASC06675.

15. LUNCH AT CASA PRIOSTE. PHOTO BY GILBERTO PRIOSTE, 1980.

Women were, and continue to be, largely responsible for the majority of domestic labour in Portuguese-Canadian households. This includes preparing the family's meals. In immigrant families, women have often been responsible for maintaining ethnic culture in the home. Preparing Portuguese food was one way in which they transmitted their homeland's culture to their children. While "ethnic food" has become a celebrated part of a multicultural Canada, this was not always the case. Memories of "mom's cooking" are common among ethnic descendants, who do not always remember it fondly. Portuguese cuisine, with its heavy fish diet, salted meat, and other food staples uncommon in the typical diet of Canadians in the postwar period, were sometimes hard to swallow for young Portuguese-Canadians growing up in a society that made fun of their "smelly" ethnic foods. In this pre-multicultural context, the dinner table was a borderland between mainstream and ethnic cultures, where the codfish and sardines of the Portuguese diet was the mother's last line of defense against her children's assimilation. In the 1950s and 60s, immigrant foods were considered exotic and un-Canadian, and were relegated to ethnic neighbourhoods such as Kensington Market. Portuguese food habits often came under scrutiny from Canadian community workers as they attempted to re-shape the immigrant's eating habits.

Food has also been central to Portuguese extended family gatherings around special occasions like baptisms, wedding, Easter and Christmas.



Certain traditional dishes, like *cozido à portuguesa* (Portuguese stew), *caldeirada* (fish stew), or *leitão na brasa* (roasted piglet) required expensive ingredients and were laborious to prepare making them a good pretext to invite friends and family to the home and strengthen social bonds.

Courtesy of Gilberto Prioste ©

16. PATRONS PLAYING GUITAR AT THE BLUE WALL CAFÉ. PHOTO BY GILBERTO PRIOSTE 1980.

The traditional narrative of Portuguese immigration to Canada highlights the many challenges faced by the "pioneer" generation and the trials they went through in overcoming obstacles during their first years in the country. While these immigrant narratives are often triumphant, their focus on the most difficult aspects of their experience (the isolation, the toil, physical and emotional injuries, discrimination, the longing for home and loved-ones, and generational conflicts) all paint a gloomy picture of the Portuguese experience in Canada. Without a doubt, the majority of working class immigrants had a difficult time in their new country before their socioeconomic situation began to improve and their cultural ways finally earned the respect of English Canadians. Nonetheless, the history of Portuguese immigration to Canada is also replete with festivity, artistry, and ubiquitous musicality. Even among the first immigrants of the 1950s there were those who carried their guitars and accordions and played the sounds from home to their countrymen working on the railway tracks. In this photo, two older Portuguese men casually play some tunes to the patrons of the Blue Wall Café on Augusta Ave., in Kensington Market.



Music has been a main form of artistic expression for Portuguese-Canadians and an integral aspect of their social life, around which many community events are organized, including the many *bailes* (dances) offered by the local clubs, *ranchos folclóricos* (folk dances), concerts, singing competitions, and musical programs for youth. A significant minority of Portuguese immigrants in Toronto were skillful musicians who developed artistic careers in Canada, like Mariano Rego, Mano Belmonte, Fátima Ferreira, Nuno Cristo, among many others. Various Portuguese language radio and television programs produced in Toronto over the years have promoted community artists, some of whom have had considerable success in mainstream Canada, such as Shawn Desman (Fernandes), Danny Fernandes, or Brian Melo. Other musicians who started their careers in the Toronto community have also had considerable success touring different parts of the Portuguese diaspora and the immigrants' hometowns in Portugal's countryside.

The music of Portugal, particularly *fado*, has also received considerable attention from mainstream Canadian impresarios in recent years, who have produced musical stage dramas inspired by Portugal's national music. One such production, in 2009, was the chamber opera *Inês*, by the Queens of Pudding Music Theatre company, which told the story of a young Portuguese political refugee turned construction worker in 1960s Toronto, who falls in love with a local *fado* singer against his aristocratic parents' wishes, with fatal results for Inês - a narrative of the Portuguese immigrant experience that is both gloomy and musical.

Courtesy of Gilberto Prioste ©

17. TWO GENERATIONS AT TIVOLI BILLIARDS HALL. PHOTO BY GILBERTO PRIOSTE, 1980.

Portuguese pool halls were strictly male public spaces. Here, masculinity was on display, associated with the tough, working-class character of men who were largely employed in the heavy and dangerous construction trades. Sometimes men took their sons to these pool halls, transmitting their version of Portuguese masculinity between generations. They were also important venues for exchanging information on jobs and other pressing practical matters.



Women's public social spaces were often relegated to areas such as parish life. Their absence in Toronto pools halls was conspicuous in the eyes of Canadian society and fit the perception that many English Canadians had of Southern European men as being patriarchal and sexist. In 1979, the *Toronto Sunday Star* magazine, *The City*, ran an article entitled "New World Retreat - a Portuguese pool hall is no place for a woman". In it, the reporter Kare Shenfeld wrote about a pool hall in Kensington Market: "From 9 o'clock in the morning the eight back bar stools are taken. Many stop in for breakfast before going to work... Espresso [is] drunk from little cups with huge amounts of sugar, and regular coffee with sugar and milk. They call the latter "Canadian"... Most of the time I am the only woman in Tivoli Billiards. When I first walked in everything stopped. Men stopped talking, stopped sipping coffee,

stopped knocking snooker balls. And 50 pairs of dark eye stared at me. I looked down at myself to make sure I had not sprouted an extra pair of arms or legs. Even after the regulars had accepted my presence some new friends scolded, "a pool hall is no place for a woman". This article elicited some controversy in the Portuguese-Canadian community, and one journalist/community worker, Fernanda Gaspar, wrote to *The City*, chiding the author of the article for perpetuating stereotypes of these "dark skinned" men as chauvinistic, rather than focusing on Portuguese immigrants' success in their new country.

Courtesy of Gilberto Prioste ©

18. PORTUGUESE "CLEANING LADIES" STRIKE IN FRONT OF THE FIRST CANADIAN PLACE. PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN, JUNE 1984.

In 1984, cleaners at the First Canadian Place, Toronto's tallest downtown officer tower, waged a six-week strike. Female cleaners who earned \$5.83 an hour, and men \$6.97, were demanding a wage increase of fifty cents per hour each year for two years from their employer, Federated Building Maintenance, which held the cleaning contract for the building. Represented by the Food and Service Workers of Canada, the union local voted on June 3 to strike and two hundred and fifty cleaners, ninety percent of whom were women and Azorean, joined the picket line. The cleaners had organized in 1979, and were the ones who approached the union for representation. This and other actions during the strike, exemplified Portuguese women's willingness to fight for workplace rights in Canada. Portuguese cleaners in other downtown towers had also unionized, such as those at the Toronto-Dominion Centre. Since Portuguese women were the main labour force in the janitorial cleaning industry in Toronto, ethnic bonds fostered collective workplace action.



The First Canadian Place picket-line was marked by family and ethnic displays of solidarity, as well as physical altercations with police and strikebreakers. Indeed, Portuguese women's willingness to engage in physical confrontations with strikebreakers was remarked on by the press, who were surprised by their actions. One Toronto Star reporter noted that the "strike has turned these docile women, keepers of home and hearth, into a bitter, vociferous group intent on fighting their employers". The cleaners were supported by politicians, such as Dan Heap, other unions, and women's groups on the picket line. After six weeks the cleaners accepted Federated's new offer, which provided them with a thirty-five cent hourly increase in the first year of their contract, and a further twenty-five cent increase in the second year of the agreement. However, two years later, when the collective agreement was up for negotiation again, the cleaning contract was put up for tender by the owners of the building, and the cleaners had to accept lower wages in order to keep their jobs with the existing contractor. Indeed, the practice of contracting-out in the

cleaning industry and its role in keeping immigrant cleaners' wages low is still an issue and concern to this day.

York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, CAW Local 40 fonds, F0610, ASC7885.

 YOUTH CELEBRATING A PORTUGUESE SOCCER VICTORY AS THE CITY WATCHES. PHOTO BY EMANUEL DA SILVA, JUNE, II, 2006.

On June 11, 2006, the Portugal Day parade and celebrations in Toronto coincided with the 18th FIFA World Cup soccer tournament in Germany, mixing displays of ethno-national patriotism with exuberant enthusiasm and taunting from soccer fans in a friendly yet competitive multicultural context. Following a tight 1-0 win for Portugal over Angola, the downtown streets surrounding "Little Portugal" and "Little Italy" were awash in a sea of red and green and in a cacophony of cheers, whistles and honking. Led by Portuguese-Canadian youth, but also including members of the older generations, the spontaneous street parties that have spilled out from private residences, restaurants and sports bars are vibrant examples of group solidarity that playfully push the limits of mainstream socially acceptable behaviour, while showcasing the city's "lively" multicultural diversity.



The recent success of the Portuguese national men's soccer team and of individual Portuguese soccer players around the world has served as a major rallying point for transnational Portuguese pride. For second and third generations of Portuguese-Canadian youth, celebrating soccer can be a way of affirming a Portuguese ethnic identity, regardless of Portuguese language competency or cultural investment, and of setting them apart from their Canadian and immigrant-descendant peers.

Courtesy of Emanuel da Silva ©

20. UNVEILING OF *CASA DOS AÇORES WAY* STREET SIGN AT THE CORNER OF COLLEGE AND DUFFERIN STREETS. PHOTO BY ANTÓNIO PEREIRA, MAY 30, 2009.

In 2009, the official commemorations for the Day of the Autonomous Region of the Azores were held outside of the archipelago for only the second time. Given the large number of Azorean immigrants and descendants in Toronto and in Ontario, the *Casa dos Açores do Ontário* (Azorean House of Ontario) was chosen by the President of the Regional government of the Azores, Carlos César, to lead political, religious and





economic leaders from the Azores and from across North America in making the regional holiday.

On May 30, the day's ceremonies included the traditional serving of soup (to approximately 5000 people), marking the Feast of the Holy Spirit - a fundamental aspect of Azorean culture - as well as the unveiling of an honorary street sign designating "Casa Dos Açores Way" on College St. between Dufferin St. and Sheridan Ave., in recognition of the contributions of Azoreans and of the Casa dos Açores to the City of Toronto.

This acknowledgment of Portuguese presence within the city's urban landcape, proposed by Councillor Ana Bailão (Ward 18), coincides with the current location of the Azorean House.

Founded in 1985, the Azorean cultural association was originally called Casa dos Acores de Toronto. This association had various locations throughout its history, including 1082 1/2 Queen St. West, 831A Dundas St. West and 772A Dundas St. West, before it settled in its current, more spacious location in 2007. At a time when smaller cultural associations are in danger of closing because of decreasing membership and increasing costs, the Casa dos Açores has been able to expand its services to the Portuguese and Azorean community and serve as a hub of civic and cultural engagement by housing other associations such as the Amor da Pátria Community Centre, the Operário Sports Club, the Sport Clube Lusitânia, and the Federation of Portuguese Canadian Business and Professionals. It also hosts a weekly program for seniors with Abrigo, a local social service agency, regular cultural and social events for members young and old, two Portuguese language schools, a guitar and folklore group (Pérolas do Atlântico), a library, a quasiconsular office of the Azorean government (Rede Integrada de Apoio ao Cidadão) in a building with a large hall and kitchen, and a professional restaurant (Ilhas de Bruma). This level of coordination and involvement is facilitated by local and transnational government support, but, most especially by the countless hours of volunteer work that have made Portuguese cultural associations vibrant spaces of gathering and solidarity.

Courtesy of Casa dos Açores/ António Pereira ©

Leaving Portugal (clockwise from top left)

- Marriage in Azores, nd F 1405-36, Acc. 21210, file 36-16
 MSR 2328 Archives of Ontario (henceforth AO)
- Vista Do Cais de Desembarque, Santa Maria, nd F 1405-36, Acc. 21210, file 36-02 MSR 0652 - AO
 - York University Libraries, Clara Thomas Archives
 & Special Collections (henceforth YU-CTASC),
 Domingos Marques fonds, F0573.
 - Portuguese Coming to Canada, 1957 F1405-36, Acc.
 21210, file 36-09 MSR 1683 AO

Coming to Canada (clockwise from the left)

- Codfishing, Newfoundland, 1947 F1405-36, Acc. 21210, file 36-24 MSR 4904 AO
- Roma Napoli, nd F1405-36, Acc. 21210, file 36-30 MSR 10660 - AO
- Plane Bringing Portuguese Immigrants to Canada, 1957 -F1405-36, Acc. 21210, file 36-16 MSR 2328 - AO
 - Canadian Immigration ID Card, 1957 F1405-36, Acc.
 21210, file 36-07 MSR 1680 AO

The "Pioneer" Workers (from the left)

- Photos 1 to 4, YU-CTASC, David Higgs fonds, F0571.
- BC Railway Work, 1958 F1405-36, Acc. 21210, file 36-26 MSR 2328 - AO
 - Mrs. Duarte work at Factory, 1958 F1405-36, Acc.
 21210, file 36-20 MSR 2332 AO

Moving to the City & Bringing the Family (from the left)

- Portuguese Pioneer in Toronto, 1957 F1405-36, Acc. 21210, file 36-25 MSR 4905 - AO
- Photos 2-4 and 5-8, YU-CTASC, Domingos Marques fonds,
- Photo 5, Portuguese Immigrants Arriving in Toronto, 1957
 F1405-36, Acc. 21210, file 36-02 MSR 0652 AO

A Community Emerges (from the left)

- YU-CTASC, Toronto Telegram fronds, F0433, ASC12869
 - YU-CTASC, Toronto Telegram fronds, F0433.
 - Photos 3 and 4 courtesy of Gilberto Prioste
 - Photo 5 courtesy of St. Christopher House

Photos in Ethnic Neighbourhoods:

Top row

All photos from YU-CTASC, David Higgs fonds, F0571.

Bottom row (from the left)

- Courtesy of Gilberto Prioste
- YU-CTASC, Domingos Marques fonds, F0573.
 - Courtesy of Casa do Alentejo
 - Courtesy of Casa dos Açores
 - · Courtesy of Frank Alvarez

Images of graffiti, tiles, stained glass window, and shop-front by Emanuel da Silva and Gilberto Fernandes.